



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

STUDY OF A TYPICAL MEDIÆVAL VILLAGE.

I PROPOSE in this paper to describe what I may call the ancient topography of a typical English village, before the recollection of what it has been in the past shall have vanished with its oldest inhabitants of to-day. I am not myself one of these, but I have known the village for a quarter of a century, and have now for many years been a freeholder in it; and it was the complicated history of my freehold as exhibited in its title-deeds which first put me upon inquiring into the ancient history and geography of the manor of which our village was the nucleus. As to the history, indeed I shall have little to say; but, even if I content myself with describing the geography of the village and parish as it has been described to me by old men who remember it before it was enclosed, I may possibly be contributing something interesting, and perhaps useful, to the study of old English rural life.

Oxfordshire was one of those midland counties which were not generally enclosed until the last century.* When Arthur Young wrote his Survey of the agriculture of the county, close upon the end of the century, the work of enclosing had already gone far; and just about that time, so far as I can learn, an attempt was made to get the necessary act of Parliament to introduce the new system into our parish. But the parson, an old character of whom odd stories are still told, seems to have done all he could to oppose the project, and to have succeeded. He lived till 1836, and in his time no second attempt was made; but the advent of a new rector, a vigorous man of business, soon brought about the change, and raised us to the level of civilization which the villages round us had already attained.

The enclosure actually took place in 1843. There are men still living in the village who remember the look of the open fields before the parish was divided into the compact and

* See the map in Professor Ashley's *Economic History*, part ii. p. 304.

well-hedged farms of which it now consists; and one of these, who as a lad took part in the work of enclosing, seemed to take huge delight in strolling with me about the land, and explaining the changes that had been wrought on it since his boyhood. Two others, better educated, yet perhaps hardly so helpful, have added something to my information; and with the aid of my own eyes and of a good map made at the time of the enclosure I have been able to form a fairly complete picture of our ancient geography and of the economy of our little community.

It may be as well, before I go further, to say a word about the character of the district in which our village lies. It is a part of the country of which history has very little to tell before the Civil War; yet, to judge from Domesday, it must long before the Conquest have been fairly well populated and brought under cultivation. If you take the railway from Oxford to Worcester, you come in a very few minutes upon our stream, the Evenlode; and, following it up along its winding woodland course as far as Charlbury, you then come out upon a more open country, with heights to east and west. You are still following the Evenlode, no longer in a winding, narrow valley, but in a wide, open district, the whole of which seems to be cultivated except an occasional stretch of wood and the meadows which flank the stream on either side. These last are almost invariably used for hay in summer and pasture in winter. Other pasture-fields are, of course, to be seen, and, as we shall see, there is much grass-land which at one time was under the plough; but the general look of the slopes and hills suggests a very assiduous cultivation.

Some villages we can see from the train window, usually on ground rising a little from the river. Others there are, too, on the brow of the hills; but these are smaller and less obvious to the eye. If we look at the ordnance map, we shall find that the larger villages in the valley commonly have names ending in *ham* or *ton*, while among those on the hills such names are rare. Up there we find names such as Westcote, Icomb, Fifield, Cornwell, Churchill, Sarsden. There

are two little hill towns, which must have served as markets for the neighborhood,—Chipping Norton and Stow-on-the-Wold, which stand at a height of seven or eight hundred feet above the sea, and are conspicuous afar; but the regular village settlement seems to have been in the valley or just above it, if we are to judge by the prevalence of the terminations usually supposed to indicate it. And this rule holds good for the most part, as far as I can discern, among all the hills and vales of our neighborhood.

One may ask whether these *hams* and *tons*—such as Lyneham, Milton, Shipton, Oddington, Bledington, and Kingham, which is the village I am to speak of more particularly—were in their origin settlements of the Teutonic invaders of the country, or whether, as Mr. Seebohm suggests, those invaders found here Roman or Celtic settlements and a system of cultivation ready-made for them, to which they adapted themselves. To this question I can give no direct answer. I can only say that I have not been able to find any traces of that continuity of which Mr. Seebohm gives some examples from other parts of the country. We have barrows and round camps on our hills, and the famous Rollerich stones, indicating the presence of pre-Roman inhabitants; and we have also within five miles to the north-west the great Roman road called the Foss Way, which comes across the Cotswolds to Stow-on-the-Wold, and so straight onwards to Coventry and Lincoln. To the south, again, half-way to Oxford, we have the Akeman Street, which crosses the railway near Stonesfield. Here stood a Roman villa, of which one beautiful pavement and other remains are still to be seen; but no village has grown up around it,—even the farm-house near at hand is isolated and modern. So, too, with the famous Chedworth villa on the Foss Way, some fifteen miles to the west of us. It stands, or, rather, stood, quite alone, and was until lately so completely buried as to attract the attention of the great Darwin when he was investigating the power of earth-worms to hide ruins out of sight in the course of ages. Two villages near us do indeed bear names which may suggest at least a Roman origin,—Cornwell and Broadwell; and the

latter is quite close to the Foss Way. But, even if we admit that the termination *well* is here the survival of the Roman *villa*, I do not see that this gives us any real ground for concluding that our ordinary *hams* and *tons* had a pre-Teutonic origin; and the evidence of a chance discovery of a few Roman coins will not carry us much further.*

So, until we have some fresh light on the question, I think we must conclude that Kingham, like most of the villages in our valley, had no existence until the West Saxons came this way. Taking it as a working hypothesis that, when they came, they had to clear the ground for themselves, let us see what kind of a position they chose to settle themselves upon.

Avoiding the low-lying meadows of the Evenlode, they chose a rising ground to the east, which at a few hundred yards from the stream remains pleasantly level for a short distance, and then rises again for a mile or more, until at a height of some seven hundred feet it begins to fall again in what is now the adjoining parish of Cornwell. To the south-east this rising ground is flanked by another series of low meadows, through which runs a smaller stream to join the Evenlode at right angles. But to the north-west there is no such distinct boundary. Here the ground lies fairly level; and you may walk along it over good, sound corn-land to the very end of the parish.†

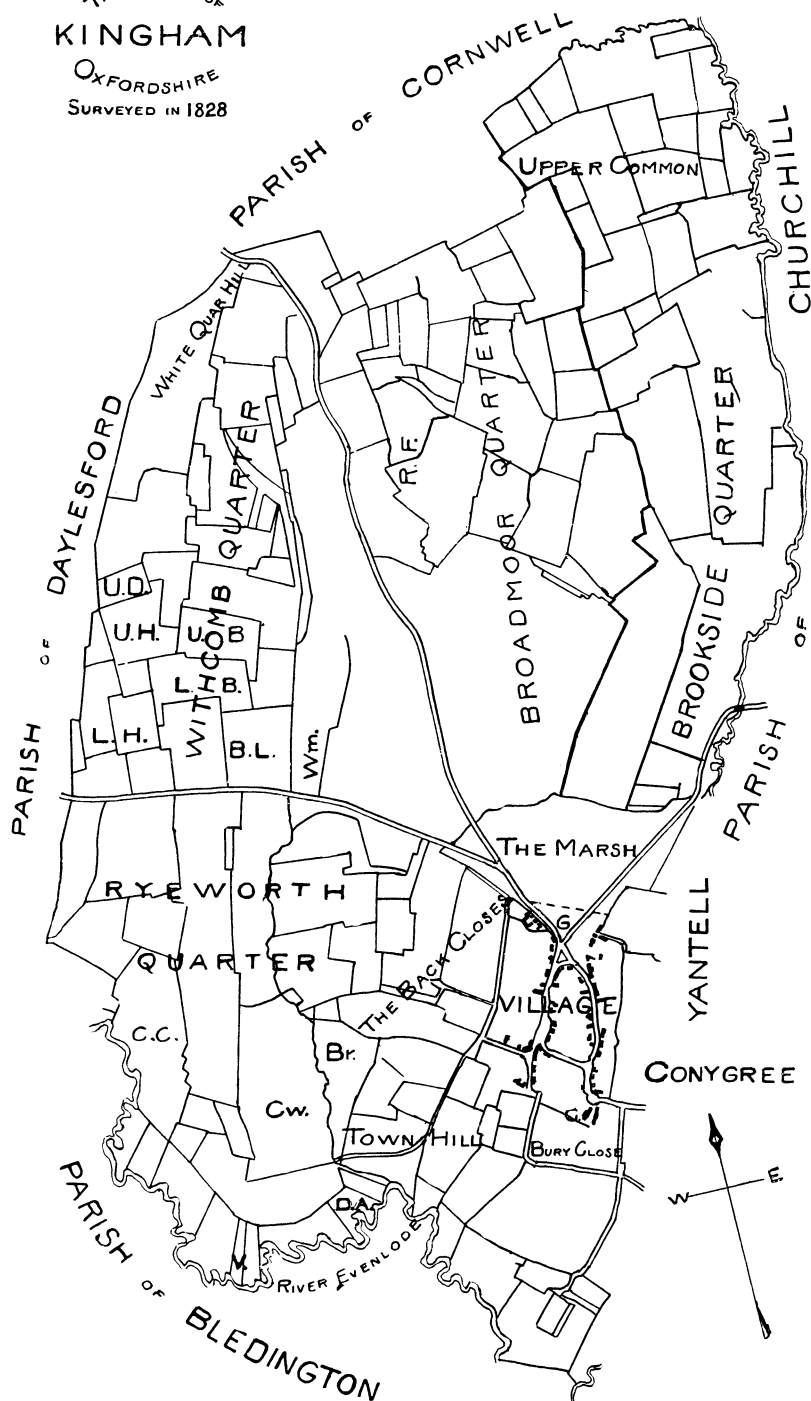
Whatever race it was that chose this site, it was chosen with a keen eye to its varied advantages. The settlement itself was on the level ground above the angle formed by the junction of the two streams; just below it the smaller of these could be used to turn a mill, as it still does; the land just here is good and wholesome, and drains naturally and easily in

* I can hear of no Roman coins discovered in our parish.

† In reproducing the map of the parish of Kingham on the opposite page, it has been found necessary to indicate by initial letters some of the divisions referred to in this article. The letters used are as follows:—

U. H. for Upper Henslade Furlong.	Br. for Briar Furlong.
L. H. " Lower " "	C. C. " Castle Crooks Furlong.
U. B. " Upper Birdsmoor " "	Cw. " Crenswell " "
L. B. " Lower " "	G. " The Green.
R. F. " Raunce Furze " "	D. A. " The Dining Acres.
U. D. " Upper Down Thorns " "	V. " The Varnels.
B. L. " Buttocks Lake " "	C. " The Church.
Wm. " Washmarsh " "	

THE PARISH OF
KINGHAM
OXFORDSHIRE
SURVEYED IN 1828



both directions. The low-lying meadows are close by, and abundant hay is grown in them; and towards the hill there was such an expanse of eligible land for clearing as made the prosperity of the settlement a certainty. Within some five hundred years the amount under cultivation was not less than a thousand acres, probably more.*

I have said that the original settlement was in this position, because the village is there now. But the village has in course of time grown far beyond its earliest limits, and the question arises whether we can find any data for determining where the nucleus was situated out of which it grew. I think we have some material for making a good guess on this point, and will explain them as clearly as I can, with the help of the map.

It is a characteristic not only of Kingham, but of almost all the villages round us, that the church stands at one extremity, while the houses straggle away in one or two streets towards the cultivated land which before the enclosures was the "open field." In the case of the *hams* and *tons* of the valley, the church is usually at the end nearest the river, and the village has grown out in the direction of the slopes where the arable of the farms is for the most part situated; while the hill villages have taken, in some instances at least, an exactly opposite direction. There, whatever may be the case now, the ancient arable was on the slopes *below* the village; and the cottages accordingly straggle down the hill, as a rule, while the church stands at the top by itself. It is perhaps worth noting, however, that this ancient arable on the slopes has at one time or other been turned into pasture,† and that, although its relation to the village geography is still quite clear to an observant eye, the original condition of things has been almost entirely reversed: the arable is now *above* the village, on the highest ground, where the light soil and natural drainage offer conveniences which the original settlers presumably failed to discover.‡

* In Domesday it is set down as 10 hides; and the normal reckoning is 120 acres to the hide.

† This is proved by the ridges and furrows which are everywhere apparent.

‡ The hills were then no doubt used as sheep-runs. Then Idbury (a hill village) in Domesday has a very large extent of pasture for its size: so, too, Fifield.

These hill villages are hardly large enough to form very good examples of the principle I wish to make clear; namely, that in this district the village has had a tendency, so to speak, to run away from its church. Those of the valley show this tendency better, and we have one instance so striking that I may be allowed to refer to it at length. Two miles up the valley is the large village of Oddington, of which from the railway nothing is to be seen except an old church in a wood, and a large manor-house hard by. If you were to alight here and cross the valley to the church, you would suppose it deserted; and so in fact it is, being now only used for marriages and burials, though it is a large and fine Perpendicular building. The fact is that the village has in this case so completely deserted its church,—I speak of material, not of spiritual things,—and has straggled so far up the slopes above towards its arable land, that a new church has had to be built to suit the altered circumstances. I do not know much of the history of Oddington; but I can have very little doubt that the original *ton* was where the church is now, or close by it, and that the village remained close at hand until the fifteenth century at least, if one may make a guess based on the style of the architecture of the church. An old man of whom I asked some questions in the churchyard, one day, did in fact tell me that his father, when digging for the squire near the church, came on the foundations of buildings, and that the tradition of the villagers is that their village has changed its position.

Let us now return to Kingham, and see whether the same rule holds good here. I have already said that the church is at the end of the village nearest the river, while the village stretches away from it towards the hill and the arable. Now, I think that Kingham has at one time undergone very much the same change as Oddington, though it has been less complete and revolutionary in our case. An arbitrary lord of the manor might have succeeded, by enclosing land near the church, in driving the village away up the hill, as perhaps he did at Oddington. As it is, the church stands at some little distance from our oldest cottages; and the intermediate space is filled by the present rectory house, with its stables, gar-

dens, etc., by the old rectory house with its tithe barn, and by other houses belonging to the glebe or to the family which now represents, if any does, the ancient lords of the manor. The result is at this day that the village has a west end tenanted by the aristocracy, while the "people" have to content themselves with the less sheltered part which is nearer to their work in the fields.

If, then, the cases of Oddington and Kingham are analogous in the main, and if we are satisfied that the original settlement at Oddington was close to the church, we may fairly assume that the same was the case at Kingham. And this is supported, not only by the fact that the position is in every way the best that could have been chosen, but by the very distinct traces of an ancient enclosure, which I am unable to resist the temptation of identifying as that of the original *burh*, or fortification, of the lord's house, with its yards and buildings. Immediately behind the church is a large field, now generally called the Close, or Closes; and in this field, and enclosing the greater part of it, is a foss about eight feet wide, and varying in depth, rectangular in shape, pretty clearly marked throughout its course, except to the north-west where it abuts on the hollow formed by a little brook now drained, and where, also, it is lost among the farm buildings belonging to the rectory. If we suppose it still complete, it would take in the greater part of the church, which stands almost exactly in the centre of its north-eastern side.*

I should hardly indeed be so ready to identify this ditch as enclosing the nucleus of the original settlement, in spite of its very ancient appearance, if it were not that the ground which it encloses still bears the name of Bury Close. It is indeed only the old men who know this name, and one of them had already corrupted it into Betty Close when he told me of it. Now, such names as Bury Close, Bury Field, Bury Mead, etc., are common enough, not only in our district, but in other parts of the country; and, in all probability, each of them has some

*The church itself, if an ancient one (ours is fourteenth century), may be generally taken as marking the site of the original settlement. If not succeeding a heathen temple, it was at least adjacent to the position of the sacred hearth of the lord's house. Gomner, *Village Community*, pp. 128, *seq.*

story to tell. The story of ours seems to me to be plain enough: the word *bury* must be the Saxon *burh*,—i.e., the fortification made by the earliest lord of the settlement to protect his people and his cattle from intruders. That our village began its existence under the auspices of a lord is probable from its name, Caningeham or Keyngeham. The termination *ham* would seem to be the generic term for a settlement; and the special character of this one would be marked by the word *burh*, which has just managed to survive to the present day.*

We have, indeed, no trace in ancient times of any residence here of a lord of the manor. We do not know to whom the village belonged before the Conquest. It was given by the Conqueror, as we learn from Domesday, to Godfrey de Manneville; and in his family it seems to have long remained. But we need not suppose that they resided here. The days of the immediate influence of the lord upon the village were doubtless over before the Conquest; and the original *burh* would become the home farm simply, with the residence of the lord's steward. Eventually, as I take it, the erection and endowment of a new church in the fourteenth century supplanted even these buildings; and the manor farm, which still exists in the form of two cottages, is at the other end of the village, and near the open fields. Its tenant, in fact, was driven away to the plebeian quarter by the increasing ecclesiastical and social importance of the west end. The date at which these changes took place would correspond fairly well with that of the same changes at Oddington. There, as we saw, the architecture of the old church shows that the village was still not far from it in the fifteenth century, though probably beginning to make room for church, parson, and squire. Here in Kingham the architecture of the manor farm, which I should guess to be of the fifteenth century also, shows that the same process was going on about the same time, but had probably begun earlier.

*See Andrews, *English Manor*, p. 112, who takes *burh* as the quadrangle with the various farm buildings. A careful survey of our Bury Close will show in one part at least (near the church) much of that inequality and irregularity of surface which is usually a mark of the presence of ancient foundations.

Having thus arrived at a definite opinion as to where the original settlement was, let us proceed outwards from that nucleus, and see how far we can reconstruct the economical situation of the earliest village. So far we have been speaking only of the lord's homestead, situated in this Bury Close, and surrounded by a tûn. This may possibly, at the very outset, have been self-sufficing, with a few slaves or house-servants, who lived within it and cultivated the lord's land; but such a state of things is rather conjectural than historical. In the dawn of what may be called historical times we seem to see almost everywhere the beginnings of a village, lying apart from the central homestead of the lord, and upon land which did not form part of his demesne.* A few wattled huts, grouped together irregularly, would probably be found, inhabited by men who worked the lord's land, and held as compensation for this work some portion of land on their own account. This rude beginning of a village would naturally be looked for in the direction of the open fields where the work of the villagers lay; and, if we could but ascertain which part of the 1,876 acres of the present parish constituted the original open cultivated field, we should at the same time be able to make a fair guess at the site of the original village also. It would, in fact, be in that part of the present village which is nearest to the ancient open field. We may be quite certain that the land was only cleared and tilled by degrees, and that the ten hides of Domesday were the result of at least four centuries of growth and enterprise. In which direction, then, did the little settlement turn for its tillage in the days of its infancy?

I do not think this is so difficult a question to answer as might appear at first sight. Let us look again at the map of the parish made before the enclosure. The parish extends a full mile and a half up the hill of which I have already spoken, and occupies also its slopes which descend to the brook dividing it from the parish of Churchill. But all this more distant portion, if I am not mistaken, must have been practically unknown to the earliest community, or at any rate must have been used as waste,—perhaps for the pasturage of

* Rogers, *Economic Interpretation of History*, p. 14.

sheep. It is divided into three "quarters";* and the names of these quarters—or two of them at least—seem to show that this district was once undrained moorland. Those on the hill are Withcombe quarter and Broadmoor quarter,—names suggestive of heather and withy-beds: the third one, including the lower slopes, is Brookside quarter. Even the names of the furlongs into which this district was ultimately divided for cultivation have the same story to tell. We find here, for example, Henslade furlong,† Birdsmoor furlong, Raunce Furze furlong, Upper Down Thorns, Crow's-nest hedge, Buttocks lake, Washmarsh, and other names, now almost forgotten, which show that the memory of the original character of the region had long survived its cultivation.

Such names as these could hardly, I think, have survived from the very earliest times: they more probably date from a later in-taking of land for cultivation. Let us, therefore, dismiss from our minds for the moment all this outlying district, and look more particularly at the portion of the parish which lies nearer to the village. It is conveniently divided from the rest at the present time by the road which runs from Kingham to Daylesford.

We must remember that every rural and agricultural community required three different kinds of land, or, perhaps we should rather say, needed to put its land to three several uses. Some would be tilled, some used for hay and also for pasturage, and some for common and permanent pasturage all the year round. Can we find land suited for these several uses, and giving any indication by ancient names that it was so used, in the immediate vicinity of the village? In this way we may be able, by elimination, to lay our finger on the original open cultivated field, and so to get at the site of the earliest village itself.

*Exclusive of Ryeworth quarter, the one north-west of the village. I do not think these quarters have any relation to the three-field system of cropping: they are rather topographical names only. Cf. the analogous example in Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England*, p. 228, etc. [My oldest informant, however, tells me that before the enclosure the four quarters were treated on a four-field system: (1) wheat; (2) barley; (3) vetch, peas, beans, etc.; (4) fallow.]

† *Hen* was used for wild fowl generally (cf. Moreton-in-the-Marsh = Moreton Henmarsh). Slade is an open hollow where water collects.

Immediately to the east of the village is the present Green ; and beyond this, and originally including it, we see on the map a tract of some thirty acres called the *Marsh*,* which is still known by that name. This was formerly common ; and here at the present day are the oldest village allotments, which are the property of the parish. This I take to have been the waste, or earliest common pasturage, of the original community. It may probably have at one time extended further to the west towards what is marked on the map as the Back Closes. This waste, and the land immediately behind the lord's homestead, which we may take to have been the pasturage of his own demesne, would suffice for the cattle and sheep of the village for the greater part of the year. After hay-harvest they would, however, be turned out on the hay-meadows. Where, in the next place, were these ?

This is an easy question to answer. All through our country the low-lying ground by the river-sides has always been used for hay ; for, being liable to flood in the winter, it would not be safe or suitable for cultivation. Now all along the Evenlode we have a series of meadows of this description to the south-west of the village ; and at one spot here, until the enclosure, the different farmers — successors of the old *villani* and *bordarii* — used to cast lots for the portion they should each mow, a ceremony which was followed in the evening by a hearty meal and a festive scene of racing and frisking. This took place at the spot called “Dining acres,” which is marked on the map ; but the railway has now entirely altered the look of the ground as well as the course of the stream, and it is hard to identify it at the present day.†

So much for two of the village requisites,—the waste and the hay-meadow. It will now be easy to identify the position of the third kind of land, which was to supply the human

* One of my informants always pronounces this word *March* ; and as the greater part of it, which is on a slope, can hardly have been cow marshy, I am inclined to think that this may be the true form of the word. This pasture-land was marked off from the arable until 1843 by a permanent “mound” or hedge (A.S. *meare*), and the name may have been transferred from this boundary to the land enclosed by it.

† This information was given me by my oldest informant, an ancient man called Edden.

inhabitants with their staple food. The map will show that it must have been to the north-west of the village, lying, in fact, between the Marsh and the Evenlode meadows. And this guess is confirmed by the fact that it is called on the map the "Town Hill"; *i.e.*, the rising ground immediately belonging to the t^{un}. It is excellent land, with a slope towards the river, facing south-west. It is all that could be desired for cultivation; and, as it lay along that eligible level on which the village itself is placed, it was most convenient of access. Beyond it there stretched a long reach of land of the same kind, inviting extension in that direction as demand should arise.

It is worth noting the names which occur in this region of the parish. Here we have hardly a trace of a time when the land had not yet been brought into subjection by man. The whole district is called Ryeworth quarter, a name suggestive of an early cultivation of a grain now seldom seen.* Within this the various furlongs have each its name; but with the exception of Briar furlong, which lay along a little runlet here descending from the hill, there is no name that reminds us of Henslade, Birdsmoor, Washmarsh, and the like. There are some odd names, such as Castle (or Caswell), Crooks, and Crenswell; but there is nothing that can indicate the subjection of wild land to the plough.

Now, if the original arable of the community lay in this region, it was divided up, according to all the authorities who have written on these subjects, into strips of acres or half-acres, which were distributed among the tillers of the soil as well as the lord. It might seem almost absurd to ask, fifty years after the enclosure and the total disappearance of the old open-field cultivation to which it put an end, whether any trace of such strips is still to be found here. Nevertheless, I believe that I have found such traces; but I must make a considerable digression in order to explain this before we return to the village.

Ancient ploughland is in our neighborhood, as in many

*For the early cultivation of rye, see an instance in Denton, *Fifteenth Century*, p. 317, where the reeve had equal parts of wheat and rye, the laborers more rye than wheat.

others, for the most part very clearly marked out for the discerning eye by the ridges and furrows of the old system of ploughing. Wherever the land was at all heavy, the farmer would apply this method to his strips in the open field. If, for example, his strip was the normal half-acre, a full furlong (220 yards) in length and 11 yards in breadth, he might make one ridge* of this piece, with a furrow on each side, or, if the land was very sticky, he might even make two ridges of it, each only $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards broad. The object of this ridging was to give the land a little help in draining itself: the wet would slip off the ridge into the hollow, and the corn planted at the top of the ridge would have a good, dry soil to grow in. In the hollow, where the strip ran with that of a neighbor, would be the *meare*, or boundary, consisting of a narrow line of turf running the whole length of the furlong.† Wherever the land once thus treated has subsequently been turned into pasture, this formation of ridge and hollow has remained visible to the eye and annoying to the horseman and the walker, yet showing with wonderful distinctness, even at a great distance, the aspect of the country in the olden time. Though the hedges which the enclosures introduced have often cut right across an ancient furlong, and divert the eye from its shape and meaning, yet a little observation, especially in dry, bright weather, will reveal the old open field system in a perfect state of fossilization. The *meares* only are wanting. All else is there,—the ridges, or *lands*, as we still call them here, the hollows between them, the headlands, the *hades*‡ abutting upon the headland at right angles to it and the furlong, and even here and there perhaps a bit of *gore*, or no-man's-land. In some grass fields

* Or "land," in which sense we still use the word. In a terrier of 1639 the strips are reckoned in *lands*; i.e., A B has so many lands in such and such a furlong. Later on they become *ridges* in the deeds (in grass-land, generally *lays*), and according to their position also *butts* or *hades*. They are, no doubt, the *selions* of the most ancient documents. Seebohm, *Village Community*, p. 19; Kennett, *Parochial Antiquities*, Glossary.

† This word is still well known here; and the thing itself is to be seen three miles away, in the parish of Westcote, where there are still some 200 acres cultivated on the old system.

‡ These are what are sometimes called *butts*; that is, ridges abutting on or "shooting on" others at right angles.

their own history is thus written on their surface in characters so obvious that the student who is fresh from such a book as Seebohm's may illustrate for himself, without the aid of maps, all the outward features of the old system of cultivation. If, in fact, every strip in the open fields had been made into one ridge, with a *meare* on each side of it, we should have a perfect map of the field; but this was not usually the case. Observation and measurement in the fields themselves, aided by one or two old terriers, have shown me that the ridging does not tally, as a rule, with the old strip-divisions. The ridges are too narrow or the furlong is short of the proper length, as, doubtless, was often the case.*

Yet in some of the oldest grass fields I have found ridges of exactly half an acre in extent; *i.e.*, 220 yards in length and 11 in breadth. And one of these is in a field just at the upper end of the Town Hill, which, from other considerations, I have come to look upon as the arable of the earliest village. It may be asked how I am able to guess that this field is one of the oldest grass fields around us. In the first place, it has elms growing in the middle of it which are some two hundred years old, and which would not be there if in that time it had been used as arable; but this does not carry us very far back. Second, the ridging in this field has a very different look from that of fields which have, in comparatively recent times, been turned from arable into pasture: it is rugged and broken, and, unless you walk into it and look about you carefully, you might fail to notice the nature of its surface. Third, this field, as I was told by my oldest informant — the one who took part in the enclosure — was a part of the old cow-common of the village, no doubt from very remote times. It was, in fact, the place where the cows were brought night and morning to be milked, the milk of every tenth day going to the rector, after the old fashion. And yet, in spite of its ancient use as a common, it bears these manifest traces of having been at a still remoter date in use as arable. And as its length as a

* In a terrier of the demesne lands of the manor, made in 1639, in the possession of New College, Oxford, I find that the lands, or ridges, run from about 3 to 6 to the acre. They differ according to the length of the furlong and the nature of the land; that is, they are narrower where the land is more in need of draining.

furlong is almost perfect, and the breadth of its ridges makes each of them just half an acre in area, I am strongly disposed to believe that we may look on it as still showing us the strips of the most ancient portion of our arable land.

If, then, the lord and his people turned in this north-west direction for their arable land, it is in this direction also that we may assume that the earliest village was situated. And here, in the vicinity of the Town Hill and the old pasture common once under cultivation, lies still that part of the village which would strike the visitor as the oldest. Here we have a wide street with stretches of grass between the road and the houses; here the houses, instead of facing the road in an orderly row, as they do in the other and, as I think, more modern street, are built at various angles to it; and at the lower part of it, that nearest to the Town Hill, they are dotted about in a very irregular manner. Upon this feature of the modern village I do not indeed wish to lay any stress. I only go so far as to assert that, if we search for the site of the settlement before the Conquest and Domesday, we must look for it, not in the south-eastern street, which is now the main thoroughfare of the village, but in the north-western one, which a visitor might easily miss, and especially in that lower end of it which is nearest to the Town Hill. It is just at the right distance from the church and the lord's homestead, and it is situated almost in a central position between what I believe to have been the arable, the common pasture, and the hay-meadows of the earliest community.

But all this is conjectural, for we have no documents earlier than Domesday to give us any idea of the extent of land cultivated by the population of the village or of the numbers of the cultivators. From the date of Domesday we start afresh on more solid ground, and in the rest of this paper I shall make an attempt to trace the growth of the village and its land on the basis of the great survey and later documents.

Here is the entry in Domesday relating to our village:—

Godfrey de Manneville holds ten hides in Caningeham of the King. Land for sixteen ploughs. Now in demesne four ploughs, four slaves; nineteen villani, with ten bordarii, having twelve ploughs. There is a

mill worth forty-four pence; also nine acres of meadow, and thirty-three acres of pasture. It used to be worth twelve pounds, now fifteen pounds.

The terse language of the great survey gives us an adequate picture of Kingham in A.D. 1076; *i.e.*, of all that part of it which was in any sense taxable.* There may have been persons living in the village who do not appear in the record, and there may have been land as yet unreclaimed which was within its ecclesiastical boundary, or land appropriated to the church which was exempt from taxation; but we have here everything that was essential to the community, the church alone excepted.

The first thing that strikes us is the ten hides. Authorities are now fairly well agreed that the normal size of the hide in Domesday was 120 acres; though they are also agreed that the size differed very much in different localities, and according to the nature of the ground. It is also agreed that the Domesday hide as a unit of assessment covers arable land only. Now, if we reckon the 10 Kingham hides as roughly 120 acres each, we get some 1,200 acres, to which we must add the 42 acres of meadow and pasture, thus obtaining 1,242 acres for the extent of the whole manor. The acreage at the present day is 1,876 acres. About one-third of the parish has been therefore added, or taken into cultivation (for we have now no waste land), since the Domesday survey was made. We cannot indeed depend on the accuracy of such a computation, but the fact is clear enough that a considerable extent of land now and for long past under cultivation had not then been reclaimed. Where are we to look for this later arable? or, conversely, how far and in what direction did the arable of the village then extend?

I have given reasons for conjecturing that the earliest arable of the settlers lay to the north-west, in and about in the Town Hill. From this they would naturally work out in the direction of Daylesford, along the level called Ryeworth quarter on the map, and so in a more northerly direction, up the slopes of the hill, in the quarters called respectively

* Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England*, p. 240, foll.

Withcombe and Broadmoor. The heights themselves were no doubt at this time still moorland, and, indeed, there has been gorse in some spots up there within the memory of living men; but we shall get our 1,243 acres if we reckon in them the greater part of the slopes comprising the three quarters, Ryeworth, Broadmoor, and Withcombe, leaving out the fourth, Brookside quarter, which stretches away so far to the east and into the heart of the parish of Cornwell. These four quarters, it has already been stated (see page 160, note), were treated, within the memory of living men, on a "four-field" system.

The population working this large arable is in Domesday only thirty-three; but we may perhaps reckon in all some forty families, which would give a total population of about two hundred. Our population now is over seven hundred, and our acreage only one-third larger than in Domesday; but we have far more in the parish than the land needs for cultivation, and many of these are employed in other ways.

Of the thirty-three workers, four were slaves belonging to the demesne, and housed, no doubt, in the buildings of the home farm. Nineteen were *villani*,—i.e., component parts of the *vill*, or manor,—each of them, no doubt, having his virgate, or yardland (as a rule, some thirty acres), among the strips in the open field, which he held of the lord in return for services rendered by custom on the lord's demesne. These *villani* lived in the village itself, just as our farmers live there still; and each of them had a yard, or toft, as well as his house, and a barn for storing his corn, also a right of pasture upon the common, or waste. Then come the *bordarii*, or *cotarii*, as they are elsewhere called in Domesday: these were not essential parts of the community in the same way as the *villani*, for they had no strips in the open field. They were comparatively new-comers, who were allowed to settle here by the lord. They were bound to do certain work in the fields, and in return had each his little croft, or garden, presumably somewhat apart from the *villani* and the original village.* If I may be allowed to hazard a guess, I should ascribe to them—or, more strictly, to the lord who allowed them to settle there

* Andrews, *English Manor*, p. 170, foll.; Vinogradoff, p. 148.

—the origin of that second street to the south-east of the village which has in recent times become our principal thoroughfare.

One question remains before we leave Domesday. Where were the mill, the nine acres of meadow, and the thirty-three acres of pasture? The mill, indeed, is still there to speak for itself. It is not the Evenlode that turns it,—for that stream was occupied by the neighboring Gloucestershire village of Bledington,*—but the brook which runs into the Evenlode just below, with a volume of water just sufficient for the purpose. This mill is very handy to the village, and especially to the lord's home farm, which was, in fact, not more than two hundred yards distant from it.

When we come, in the next place, to the nine acres of meadow,—*prata*, or grass-land that was used for hay,—we can only look for them, I think, in the fringe of low land lying between the Town Hill and the Evenlode. In those days, and indeed until very lately, the line of cultivation ran much closer to the river than it does now; and nine acres would cover a long extent of that irregular winding border of the stream, in one part of which, as we have seen, the farmers used to cast lots for the piece they were to mow, and then feast with their laborers on "Dining acres." Here we find the very ancient word *varnel* or *varndel*,†—i.e., farden-dal, farthing dole,—which means the quarter of an acre which each farmer was entitled to mow after receiving his lot. In one of my deeds it is called "one man's math in the mead." It may surprise us that the portion thus used for growing hay was so small. But we must remember that parts of the pasture might also be used for this purpose, and that one-third of the whole arable of the village was in those days lying fallow each year, and could be and was used for autumn and winter pasture.

*In my own time our mill has yielded more and more to the enterprise of the Bledington miller, and is now almost extinct as a mill. It is the property of New College, Oxford.

† On the map a little further to the north-west than Dining acres. In the terrier of 1639 (New College), *dole* is the word used of portions of the hay-meadows; but I do not find *varndel* except on the banks of the Evenlode. I shall have a word to say presently about the other meadow. For the etymology, see Kennett, *Parochial Antiquities*, Glossary, *s.v.*; and, for a similar custom and name at Chippenham, see Gomme, *Village Community*, p. 179.

The demand for hay was then perhaps not so great as at present: the horses were fewer, and the work of ploughing done by oxen, for whose wants the waste and the fallow might ordinarily suffice.

Lastly, where were the thirty-three acres of pasture? By these I suppose we are to understand the waste land on which both villagers and lord had "common of pasture." If so, we know where to place them. In the present village green and the Marsh common to the east of the village, extended perhaps somewhat towards the brook across the present road to Chipping Norton, we shall find easily thirty-three acres of roughish land suitable for cattle or sheep. I do not think, however, that sheep were ever abundant on this manor.* They were bred in great numbers by the neighboring Cistercian Abbey of Bruerne; but I find no trace of them in the nomenclature of our parish, and I doubt if we had either room for them or understood their use as manuring agents. Our community, as far as I can see, was occupied almost wholly with agriculture proper; and the pasture that appears in Domesday, with the fallow of the third field in winter, would suffice for its cattle in the rude system of that age.

It is two hundred years before we get another glimpse of Kingham, in the Hundred Rolls of Edward I.,† of which the date is 1279. With this I propose to close this account, for our later history has to be pieced together from documents which are still unpublished and even undeciphered. And the topography of the parish and village, which it was my object to bring conjecturally into relation with the nature and needs of an ancient village community, is by the time of the Hundred Rolls all but complete. Great changes are going on in the economy of the village, but the ground occupied by the community was then little less than it is now.

The entry in these rolls is in substance as follows: The manor is held by the heirs of William de Manndevil from the Earl of Hertford as one knight's fee, and he again holds it of the king. These heirs have 16 virgates of land in demesne, each worth twenty shillings per annum; and, as each virgate may be reckoned at not far from 30 acres, we may compute

* Cf. Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

† Vol. i. p. 737.

this demesne land at something like 380 acres. Then follow the names of twenty-three *villani*, each holding a virgate, with the exception of one who holds half a virgate, often called a bovate. These *villani*, in the course of the two centuries since Domesday, have commuted their services on the lord's land for a money payment, and pay the lord sixteen shillings each as rent for their own virgates,—a high rate, apparently, for the reason is added that their profits are risen far beyond the value of their labor and customary services. Besides these we have the names of six holders of cottages (*cotagia*), paying in all eleven and sixpence. In these cases no land is mentioned, and they had probably none that was worth money. Lastly come the names of twenty-three *liberi tenentes*; i.e., men who held their land by a tenure free from all burden, whether of service or payment, the lord only retaining his hold upon the land by exacting a nominal quit-rent, which in some instances is a pound of pepper. The only exceptions to this freedom from obligation are in the case of the village smith, who has to make four ploughs yearly free of cost, and the miller, John of the Mill, who pays twenty shillings and eleven pence. There is one cottager who holds on these free terms; and it is noticeable that we have the first mention of an ecclesiastical endowment in the form of two virgates belonging to the prior of Hurley.*

The virgates in demesne are sixteen; twenty and a half are held by *villani*; and the *liberi tenentes* hold about seventeen more, some having two, some one, and others fractional parts. The whole number of virgates is fifty-three; and, if we reckon the virgate (or yardland) at thirty acres, we get a total of about 1,570 acres,—an amount of land not far short of the 1,876 of the present day. And the total number of persons mentioned in this survey is forty-six, as compared with the thirty-three of Domesday. Let us now consider

* It appears from Dugdale that in 1536, in exchange for the estate of Covent Garden in London, Henry VIII. granted to the Abbot of Hurley in Hants, among other lands, a messuage and land at Kingham worth thirty-three shillings and fourpence. That is, on the dissolution of the monastery the abbot was given this land as his personal property. The neighboring abbey of Bruerne never seems to have got a hold on Kingham. In the thirteenth century there was only one tenant of the abbey in our parish, paying only four shillings.

these important changes in their relation to the topography of the village and its land.

Where are we to look for the 300 and odd acres which have apparently been taken into cultivation since the Domesday survey? I think it is clear that this thriving community—for such it undoubtedly was—pushed its arable further and further into the moorland of Broadmoor quarter, and then down the slopes towards the brook which turns the mill below.* I should guess that almost the whole of this easterly region was at this time cultivated, with the exception of that part, furthest of all from the village, which is marked on the map as Upper Common; for the fact that it retained this name until recently—and indeed it still retains to some extent the appearance of a waste—seems to show that it was only ploughed up in comparatively recent times. This, and the higher lands bordering on Cornwell parish, and stretching to White Quar hill, which supplied and still supplies our building stone, may have been used as a sheep-run in an age when the importance of the wool trade was constantly increasing.†

The land has also greatly increased in value, and at a rate quite out of proportion to the amount of new land taken in. It was worth fifteen pounds in 1076, and it is now worth thirty-seven pounds four shillings and twopence. And it is noticeable that in this respect it is more than on a par with other villages round us. It happens that Mr. Seeböhm selected six of our villages to illustrate the increase of the value of land as indicated in the Hundred Rolls;‡ and it will be seen that in this little table Kingham takes the second place in progress and enterprise.§

But the most striking change is to be seen in the popula-

* That is, Brookside quarter.

† The 1639 terrier shows that the demesne had common of pasture for two hundred and fifty sheep. But, as I have said before, I doubt whether our parish could ever have been made into a big sheep-run.

‡ *English Village Community*, p. 87, note.

§ The most striking increase is that of Esthcote (Ascott-under-Wychwood), which has risen from eight pounds to thirty-two pounds. This may be the result of the creation of new "assarts" in the forest of Wychwood. There is a farm here still called "Field assarts."

tion, and not so much in its numbers as its condition. As I have already said, the total number is now forty-six as against the thirty-three of Domesday. If we add the steward and the parson and, perhaps, one or two more, we may count it as fifty heads of families, or some two hundred and fifty in all. The Black Death, which ravaged the country sixty years later, must have greatly diminished this number; and the economic changes which followed probably kept it down for centuries. Looking at the details of the population, the first thing we notice is that the four slaves of Domesday have disappeared, as almost everywhere else. It is curious that the number of villani now exactly equals that of the villani and slaves of Domesday taken together. I know not whether this should mean that the slaves had plots of ground to which their liberated descendants have succeeded as villani, with the addition of strips in the new portions of arable. The number of cotters, who are called *bordarii* in Domesday, and are now described as holding *cotagia*, have diminished from nine to six. On the other hand, we have no less than seventeen *liberi tenentes* who are new to the village since Domesday; and it is to these, we may suppose, that we may ascribe the increasing prosperity of the community, the increase of its arable, and the extension of the village itself.

The origin of these "free tenants" has been fully discussed by M. Vinogradoff on the basis of ancient documents.* I will only refer to one of the explanations he gives, which has been also recognized by Mr. Seebohm. Remembering that the lord of the manor was often non-resident, we may easily understand how it came to be the practice to carve out of his demesne a portion sufficient for the maintenance of some servant who had rendered good service in the management of the estate. "Grants of domanial land occur commonly in return for services rendered in the administration of the manor: reeves, ploughmen, herdsmen, woodwards, are sometimes recompensed in this manner instead of being released from the duties incumbent on their holding. A small rent was usually affixed to the plot severed from the demesne, and the whole arrangement may be regarded as very like an ordi-

* *Villainage in England*, pp. 323-353.

nary lease.”* In this way the actual demesne land would steadily tend to diminish, and at Kingham we find the New College terrier of 1639 summing it up as no more than 160 acres. The manor, in fact, in the older sense of the word, is beginning to break up. Some at least of these free tenants must have had houses and plots of ground, besides their shares in the open field, which were not in existence at the time of the Domesday survey. To these we may perhaps ascribe the completion of the newer street to the south-east, and of the upper end of the older one. Thus the village would have been practically complete, and occupying pretty well the whole of its present site, in the prosperous days of Edward I. And it is a fair conjecture that it remained in much the same condition, and with much the same population, varying no doubt from time to time with healthy and unhealthy periods for several centuries. The number of houses marked on the map of 1828, though not strictly accurate, shows well how many have only been built within the last half-century.

There is one more point to be considered before I close my account. Nothing is said in the Hundred Rolls of an increase of pasture and meadow; yet the extension of area and of population would suggest that there must have been such an increase. Let us see where there was room for it. I have said nothing as yet of a long stretch of meadow lying to the south-east of the village, between the mill-pond or mill-lake, as it was called,—*i.e.*, the mill-stream,—and the ditch which marks the line of the natural course of the brook before the mill was made. This meadow bears, and always has borne, the strange name of the Yantell,† a word of which so far I have failed to discover the origin. This meadow, part of which I have some reason to suppose was originally attached to the Marsh common or waste, and which has no great reputation for the quality of its hay, may have begun to be utilized at that time. I may add, while I am on this ground, that here, just on the village side of the mill-stream, is a small field of an acre or so called in the documents the Conygree, and by our folks still called Kuniger; *i.e.*, the rabbit warren of the demesne. Rabbits as an article of food began to be prized

* Vinogradoff, p. 327.

† Yantall in the terrier of 1639.

about 1250,* so that we may refer the origin of this to the same period.

But where are we to find room for increase of pasture? Something might be gained by the enlargement of the open field, of which a larger portion would now lie fallow every year; something, too, by the new waste land taken in at the top of the hill beyond the arable. But the increasing community would also need more pasture closes, which could be available all the year round. I think it must have been at this time that a portion at least of the oldest arable of the village was grassed, and turned into permanent pasture. That oldest arable lay, as we saw, to the north-west of the village, and still bears on its surface the marks of ancient ploughing. But my oldest informant remembers it as the common pasture where the cows of all the farmers grazed: it was then separated from the open field by what he called the *mound*,—i.e., a *tun* or hedge and ditch sufficiently strong to keep the cattle from straying into the arable. It included, if I understood him rightly, the Marsh (or March) common, the original pasture of the village; but the fact that it was not merged in the Marsh, but known, as we see in the map, by the name of the Back Closes, shows that it was a later addition. The two together would form a wide belt of grass-land extending around the village to north-west, north, and east, and would supply exactly what was needed by a population which must have maintained some hundred plough-oxen, as well as cows and horses. The arable, if I am right, was now pushed away from the village at every point except on the Town Hill, where the land was too excellent to be used for anything but tillage.

The evidence of the Hundred Rolls thus suggests, if it does not prove, that the topography of the village and its land was then in its main features very much the same as it was up to the time of the enclosure in 1843. Between 1279 and 1894 I doubt if it suffered any considerable revolution or felt the economical changes of the period in quite the same degree as some neighboring villages.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

*Rogers, *Six Centuries*, p. 84. No rabbit warrens are mentioned in Domesday; but they were known to Fleta, temp. Edward I. See Seeböhm on Fleta, *Village Community*, p. 46.